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Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Notice to Members

The Membership Committee would call the attention of the members of the Historical Association to the fact that our activities could be greatly expanded if we had a larger membership.

Any member of the Society of Friends and also non-Friends are eligible for membership and the committee would welcome nominations. Kindly forward such nominations to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, John W. Cadbury, Jr., Moorestown, New Jersey.

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Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

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Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

OUR PAST AND OUR FUTURE

By Amelia Mott Gummere

We are here today to do honor to a little group of fearless Englishmen who came to America in 1677 on the invitation of William Penn. Their dauntless Quakerism has so lived and flourished in the two centuries and a half which have intervened, that on this very spot of hallowed earth which saw their earliest struggles in the wilderness—struggles of both flesh and spirit—their followers gather today, representing numbers then undreamed of. This anniversary would be unworthily observed did we confine ourselves to retrospect only. History will always repeat itself in a way; yet every generation must rewrite history. As new facts become available, the old facts must be re-interpreted. Upon this depends, not only progress, but our very existence. Let us then first glance in retrospect at the doings of these Fathers, and then seek to discover the heart of their Quaker message for us today.

Not lightly had the courageous two hundred and thirty boarded the "good shippe Kent"—a frail vessel of but a little over 100 tons—and had taken their leave of old England with the lightly uttered blessing of the Merry Monarch, Charles II, still echoing in their ears. More than one of them had suffered and seen their loved ones die in the loathsome gaols of the time, not because of their evil deeds, but because of their belief in the Inner Light. England, however, never executed a Quaker legally, although the deaths from imprisonment are in the thousands. That remained for Puritan Massachusetts, which, in putting to death four of the Quakers by their criminal law, seventeen years before, had placed on record the only martyrs for their faith that America has ever seen. With two of their leading settlers buried at sea,

the little company landed near Raccoon Creek, after touching at Newcastle, where the excellent fishing, hunting, and wild fruits and grapes furnished a refreshing change from the salt and dried foods of the voyage. The commissioners, going up the east bank of the Delaware, had preceded the rest, and decided upon Lower Matiniconk Island, now Burlington, formed by a small tidal stream parallel with the Delaware, chosen for greater protection from the Indians. In the now drained swamps are fields of waving grain, doing away with the "mosquetto fly" of which the settlers so bitterly complained!

Although these Englishmen were furnished with a royal Charter, they were not willing to take the Indian lands without paying for them. Having with them several Swedes and Dutch who acted for them as interpreters (Lasse Cock, Peter Rambo, Henry Jacob Falkenburg, Israel Helwies), they arranged to pay the original owners for their land. The Friends had been told in England what to bring, for this is what was demanded, and paid: "30 matchcoats, 20 guns, 30 kettles, and one great one, 30 pair hose, 20 fathom duffeld, 30 petticoats, 30 narrow hoes, 30 bars of lead, 15 small barrels of powder, 70 knives, 30 Indian axes, 70 combs, 60 pair tobacco tongs, 60 scissors, 69 tinshaw looking glasses, 120 awl blades, 120 fish hooks, 2 grasps red paint, 120 needles, 60 tobacco boxes, 120 pipes, 200 bells, 100 jewsharps, 6 anchors of rum."

There were powwows about hunting rights and landmarks, and other things, including the sale of rum by Swedes and Dutch, which was working such havoc among the red men, and finally there was held a great Indian conference on this spot, where eight Sachems under the chief Ockanickon met Friends, and with four wampum belts in token of good faith, renewed with the whites their first pledges. Ockanickon is the Chief who showed such kindness to the settlers, and who came to their meetings. His charge to his nephew and successor before his death is on record, witnessed to by six Friends and the interpreter Falkenburg. On his death, just after the first Yearly Meeting was held, he was buried at his own request, in this graveyard, where a boulder and tablet have recently been placed in his memory. His fine character is referred to by the historian,

Smith. Both Indians and Friends met in a great concourse, and with great solemnity attended his funeral under the old sycamores, still standing today. The Indian has been and still is, an especial object of Quaker solicitude. In 1717 the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia has a minute referring to both Penn and the Indians: "It hath been the care of Friends, even from their first settlement, to behave with a Godly & prudent carriage toward them, in which our worthy Friend, William Penn when here always set a good and noble example by his love, practice and tenderness toward the Indians, so that his Memory is dear to them."

The Friends' first meetings were held under the sail of the "Kent"; and when Richard Noble had laid out the town, they met later in their own houses. Before Christmas, several other ships had arrived from England, and in the four years before the arrival of William Penn, the Delaware Valley had been settled by thousands of immigrants, the whole movement not less than the great "land booms" of our later day. Not all of these last were Quakers. In Burlington, the rapidity of the building of substantial houses is attested by the fact that when the first Yearly Meeting was held four years after the landing from the "Kent," it met at the house of Thomas Gardiner. The main part of this dwelling still stands, a substantial brick house on the present High Street.

The first Yearly Meeting was called at the instance of the Monthly Meeting, which had been set up Fifth Month (July) 15, 1678, the summer after landing. To this would come Friends from Long Island, New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware (then a part of Pennsylvania). New England (1661) and Baltimore (1672) had their own Yearly Meetings already established. There was, however, much interchange of visiting preachers. There were seven towns or small settlements in the Jerseys when Friends first came to Burlington, the largest of about one hundred families, the smallest, forty. Shrewsbury Meeting had been settled in 1670, and was able to entertain George Fox when he crossed the colony from that place to what is now Burlington in 1672. Proud (I: 161 n.) states that Shrewsbury was the first settled meeting in New Jersey, John Bowne,

Richard Hartshorne, and Nicholas Davis, a New England refugee, being the largest planters (Smith, 158). We are told that the earliest Quaker Minute in America, appointing the times for meetings at Oyster Bay and on Long Island, is in a book brought by John Burnyeat, together with George Fox's papers of advice, dated "At a men's meeting the 23d. day of the 3rd. mo. 1671." A half-year's meeting was already established there, and until 1695 it was a part of New England Yearly Meeting. The "General" meetings held annually, or oftener, appear to have been entirely for worship, and not for business. They were held in many places in the Provinces, but disappear as such in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting after 1685, when the present mode of procedure apparently took their place.

The original fine old folio containing the minutes of this Yearly Meeting opens with a very unusual title page, engrossed in a beautiful hand. This volume only runs to 1710, half the book being blank pages. All of these minutes have later on been copied into a larger folio, which is continuous in several volumes to the present day. The handwriting of the original minutes is that of Phineas Pemberton, and in the copy just referred to, his grandson, James Pemberton, Clerk just a century later, pastes in a fly leaf containing his copy of an "Epistle" as it is described, or note, dated "about 1700," written by his grandfather. This note explains the absence of any minute for 1684, and possibly why this copy, rather than the original, probably nearly illegible, was inserted. Phineas Pemberton says, "The Proceedings of the Yearly Meetings from their being first set up in Burlington hereafter follow in this book in their order, or so many of them as are now to be had, having been kept until now in loose papers." Phineas Pemberton died in 1702, and Jonathan Evans has a memorandum in Sixth Month, 1835, stating that Phineas Pemberton's name does not appear on the minutes after that date, the inference being that he was Clerk up to the time of his death, after which Anthony Morris signed many espistles for the meeting, the regular minutes not being signed.[1] The title page of the book of minutes reads: "A Record of the proceedings and agreements of the Yearly meetings held

[1] Isaac Horner was probably the first clerk of Burlington Monthly Meeting, and John Curtis of the first Quarterly Meeting, 1681.

for the provinces of East and West Jersey and pensylvania By the people of God called Quakers for the well ordering and regulating of theire church affaires Begining with the first setting up of the said Meetings in west Jersey in the yeare 1681." Over leaf follows the authority by which this meeting was called:

> "At a monthly meeting held at the house of John Wolston in Burlington the 2d. day of the 3d. month 1681. . . . It was then agreed that it be recomended to friends that a general or yearly meeting may be held at Burlington the 28th. day of the 6th. month next following." The day was changed, and the record continues: "At a general or yearly meeting held in Burlington at the house of Thomas Gardiner the 31 day of the sixth month, 1681. It was agreed that women's meetings be established and appointed to be held monthly at the same time the mens monthly meetings are held. Agreed that the next yearly meeting be held in Burlington upon the first weekly first day in the 7th. month in the yeare next ensueing. Agreed that an account be taken of the particular monthly meetings of this province which are as followeth: Burlington, Salem, Marcus Hook and Upland, The Falls [Fallsington] at the house of Thomas Lambert."

The weekly meetings are the same, with the addition of a meeting at Rancocas. All meetings both for worship and for business to begin at "ten of the clock." "Henry Willis and John Bown[e] were desired to request friends on Long Island, Road Island and Shrewsbury that they will give consent that Shrewsbury meeting may for the future belong to the Yearly Meeting at Burlington." A woman's meeting is established at Salem. The most far reaching action taken is perhaps the following: "Agreed that each monthly [meeting] do appoint two persons to find out such as do report false reports, to the end that if any thereby be unjustly defamed they may be dealt with according to the merit of the affaire as also to find out all such who may report abroad words spoken in the men or women's meetings." This virtually establishes the office of Overseer in this Yearly Meeting. In 1685 ministers or "public Friends" began to meet apart from others, and this soon became the custom. Before this, any one who spoke acceptably to Friends in preaching was a minister. To avoid trouble, however, when certain disorderly

spirits arose, a certificate of acceptability from their Monthly Meeting to this body was adopted, and thus arose the meeting for Ministers and Elders. These last consisted of "two or more Friends appointed to sit with the ministers in their meetings," with no particular instructions as to their duties in the minute of 1714 which appointed them. In time, however, they exerted great power. Until 1740, all of these meetings had been closed to women, who in that year were included. The first Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia began its minutes "the Friends of God . . . being met." Later, they are called "The people of God"; "The people of the Lord"; "The people called Quakers," which was the usual title in legal and other documents. But although they called each other Friends, the term *Society of Friends* seems not to have been adopted as a corporate title during colonial times.

The Yearly Meeting of 1687 has the first appearance of representatives to that body, and there is the beginning of a Yearly Meeting Stock when, after William Bradford is paid for his printing, "the overplus [is] to be kept for a Publick Stock for the Yearly Meeting's Service." The same meeting advises its subordinate meetings "to Avoid all Tokens of Open Division amongst us, particularly that of keeping on the Hat in Time of Publick Prayer in our Meetings. If the Person so praying hath ever been owned & received by us." This is an evident allusion to the heresy of John Perrot in England. The same meeting says: "Thomas Potter being all at this meeting that appeared from the Meeting at Shrewsbury, they were so generally visited with sickness, could not make their appearance here as Usual." This is undoubtedly the malarial condition from which for more than a century many parts of these colonies suffered. The yellow fever, brought in the uncomfortable little vessels of the time, also took its toll. In 1699 a minute refers to "The visitation upon this Place [Philadelphia] by which many deare and serviceable Friends are by death removed from us: but we hope the violence of the distemper is somewhat abated, being supposed to be much the same yt has so long been in Divers parts of the West Indies." Thomas Story and Roger Gill, from England, were then present, the latter soon to fall a victim to the epidemic.

This meeting was held for the last time in September, the more healthy period of spring being chosen the next year.

In a brief sketch like the present, only the high lights in the later history of the meeting can be touched upon. The first Quaker to arrive in Pennsylvania as a settler seems to have been Robert Wade. In 1675 he settled with the colony at Salem, New Jersey. Almost immediately he crossed the Delaware, and occupied the famous Essex House, home of the old Swedish Governors, at Upland, now Chester. A meeting at this place in 1681 was apparently under the care of Burlington Friends. Here, October 27, 1682, landed William Penn, to whom this house was turned over, and here he immediately held the first Assembly in Pennsylvania. The presence of "our Friend the Governor," as they say, for the brief time of his residence, was most grateful to the Friends. His influence tells at once. The Yearly Meeting enlarges its scope, and the hand of the leader shows in the record of the following year in Burlington, the first at which he is present.

> "At the Yearly Meeting at the house of Thomas Budd, the 4th. day of the 7th. month, 1683.
>
> "Whereas this meeting hath judged it requisit for the benefit and advantage of Truth and the mutual comfort of Friends that a General yearly meeting might be established for the provinces in these parts northward as far as New England and Southward as farr as Carolina, that by the Coming of friends together from the several Parts where Truth is profest the affairs thereof may be the better known and understood, and to the end the same may be assented to by Friends in these Parts and places as above mentioned, it is agreed that William Penn, Christopher Taylor, Samuel Jenings, James Harrison, Thomas Olive and Mahlon Stacy do take such methods by writing to Friends or speaking as may best fall out for their conveniency in order to have the same established."

They also "write to the Yearly Meeting in England an account of the affaires of Truth here." The intention on this occasion was to establish a *nationalized* body. The fact that the minutes of the next year are lost leaves us uncertain as to further action of Friends on what, if properly worked out, might have changed the history of Quakerism in America. There is no further

reference to this suggestion of William Penn's, and his departure for England may be the reason it was not followed up. None of our historians have emphasized this important proceeding. It was just ten years later that William Penn, then in England, proposed his "Essay toward the Present and future Peace of Europe." In the turmoil of the Thirty Years War, Penn proposed his "Sovereign Dyet of Europe, before which Assembly should be brought all differences depending between one Soveraign and another, that cannot be made up by private Embassies." The "Dyet" is not to destroy a ruler's power, for it leaves him free exercise within the limits of his own domain, "which," says Penn, "is all that he ever possessed." Such a Federation must seem the germ of the proposal of M. Briand today, a wonderful foretaste of the League of Nations.

Probably due to the presence of William Penn, the Yearly Meeting had begun to be held in Philadelphia every other year, and although in 1711 an attempt was made to remove permanently to that place, they met alternately in Burlington and Philadelphia until 1760, since which year Philadelphia has been the exclusive place of meeting.

Two hundred and fifty years have only added to the estimation in which is held the character of William Penn. He presented a letter to Friends in Pennsylvania, in which his English companions speak of "our unity and communion with him. . . . He has been a holy and blessed instrument in the hands of the Lord, both in his ministry and conversation [i.e. conduct] and hath always sought the prosperity of the blessed Truth and peace and concord in the Church of Christ; and have both walked among us in all humility and brotherly love, to our great refreshment and comfort." Called back by political troubles in 1684, his second equally brief visit, which he had hoped to make permanent, was ended in 1701, and the records of the meeting state, "Our Governor, William Penn, having said before this Meeting that he Entends for England, and desires that they would appoint ten or twelve Friends to meet him this evening upon some weighty occasion, in order thereunto, Samuel Jenings [and fifteen others] and such public Friends as have freedom are desired to meet the Governor accordingly about six this evening."

Commissioner Thomas Olive holds Court in the Field on a stump. Present Settlers and Indians with Trading "Truck," 1678–9.
(See Program, p. 74, below.)

The records of the Yearly Meeting have less to say about our Friend, the Governor, than those of the Monthly Meetings.

At the next Yearly Meeting in 1685, they arrange for the entertainment of strangers. "It being proposed that Friends that come from the several meetings of the other Provinces should be taken care for and Accommodated at the place where the General Meeting shall be kept. In order thereunto the said Friends, Strangers, are desired to repair to Thomas Gardner in Burlington, who Friends will advise with for their Accommodation. And at the next Yearly Meeting some Place to be appointed also in Philadelphia for the same service." At the same meeting George Keith is one of the Committee to prepare a letter to "acquaint Friends in England with the affaires of Truth, and Friends here, with a salutation of love." The meeting in 1685 was the first held in the new hexagonal meeting house.

The ministers or "publique friends" appear to have met about this time every six months, and on March 3rd, 1687, there is reference to printing what is now known as the "Bradford" Bible. "The printer's proposals being read here in order to get a large bible printed, ye minde of the meeting was delivered to Jno. Hayton & Thos. Duckett to communicate with him & he to give his answer to the respective monthly meetings in both Provinces."

In July, 1683, had arrived together, Pastorius, referred to by the Quaker poet Whittier as the "Pennsylvania Pilgrim," and Thomas Lloyd, later Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania. Pastorius was active in the interests of anti-slavery. This, in a rather more paternalistic way than otherwise, was then quite common among Friends. It was from the Pastorius meeting in Germantown that a petition came to the Yearly Meeting of 1688, asking that slavery should be abolished. They said: "There is a liberty of conscience here which is right and reasonable, and there ought to be likewise liberty of the body, except for evil doers which is another case. But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against." The Yearly Meeting deferred action. They replied to the German Friends, Seventh Month, 1688: "It was adjudged not to be so proper for this Meeting to give a positive Judgment in the

Case, It being so General a Relation to many other Parts, & therefore at present they Forbear it." The meeting was as definitely against "traffic in men-body," as the Pastorius address states it, but many feared to lose their cheap labor, and time was needed for reflection. There were occasional attempts to abolish the evil, but John Woolman's moving speech in 1758 to the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia brought the whole subject home to the Friends, after which united effort enabled nearly all Friends in America, by the end of the century, to report themselves clear of slave-holding.

Soon after the death of George Fox, in 1690/1, the manuscript of his *Journal* was placed in the hands of Thomas Ellwood, for editing. London Friends were gathering up all the material possible and in reply to an inquiry from them, regarding the edition of 1694, this meeting says:

> "We rec'd a letter from the Second day morning meeting in London, which was read in this meeting, & care is taken that the same may be answered as to the Titles and Dates of such Papers as may be found here of the Writing of George Fox & alsoe of the Travailles Tryalls Hardships & Sufferings that George Roffe [Rofe] underwent in these Parts in the Service of Truth which, when brought in, will be sent with what Expedition may be.
>
> Farewell, P. Pemberton."

The original copies of George Fox's epistles for 1675, 1677, and 1682 are now owned by Burlington Monthly Meeting,[2] the first having been circulated two years in England. These were addressed to Thomas Olive, William Peachy and William Cooper, "to be dispersed abroad among Friends."

The end of the seventeenth century gives us the echo of a great tightening up of what have long been known as the "minor testimonies," as to "speech, behavior and apparel." Dublin Friends had issued to their members the strictest kind of injunctions as to their deportment and dress, and New Jersey and Pennsylvania finally asked London Friends to help them out. In 1698 (September 21) they say, writing to London, "We earnestly desire that all that makes profession of the Truth, either in that City [London] or any part of the nation that may

[2] In Record Rooms at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

be concerned to send Goods over to these American Parts, may send no Flower'd, Striped, or Gaudy Stuffs, Fringed Curtains, Ribbons, Hat-Bands, Needless Furniture for Horses, or Brass Bosses or Brass Nails on the Bridles, nor anything else that may not suit the Plainness of our Profession, for as Friends are much labouring to keep out those Unbecoming and Needless things from Creeping in amongst us, so we find that those Friends that are concerned to Trade here have often and still do Complain that such Goods are Imposed upon them from the Traders in England, Contrary to express orders." Two years later they testify against fashionable apparel and great wigs. The meeting of 1698, the date of the first of the extracts, established Preparative meetings, with the idea of expediting the business of the monthly meetings following them.

The Keithian controversy, much of it laid in this town of Burlington, was an extraordinary event, well deserving of an adequate history. It came just twenty years after the settlement. The early years of the eighteenth century saw a great growth in numbers and prosperity. Quakerism was practically the state religion, so that the Episcopal minister in Chester, Pennsylvania, wrote in 1712: "I need not tell you that Quakerism is generally preferred in Pennsylvania, and in no county of the province does the haughty tribe appear more rampant than where I reside, there being by a modest computation 20 Quakers to one true Churchman."

Before this, the Friends had written home to London: "The majesty of Truth is great here, and does prevail and grow. . . . Yea, it will increase more and more to the ends of the earth. . . . [The Lord's] power and holy authority in rolling hither like the inundation and breaking and overflowing of waters." And how could it be otherwise? Escaped from persecution, and living in the wilderness from deepest conviction, their worship of God was conducted in the truest kind of brotherhood. One's regret for the dissensions that overtook them, even within the first twenty years and which broke out at intervals throughout their later history, is only lessened by the knowledge of how very human they were, after all. But they were alert and sensitive to every breath of the wind of God, to a degree that may be an

example to us, their descendants. "Religion is on tip-toe in this land," wrote a New Jersey settler in 1681 to a correspondent in London.

It was inevitable that the Quakers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey should be obliged to assume the responsibilities of government in the land where they had chosen to establish their homes. They rigidly obeyed the laws of England, except in such cases as interfered with their interpretation of duty. In this, they did exactly what they had previously done at home. They carried their point many times in the early days, with the assistance of William Penn. When in 1756 the consequences of the French and Indian war threatened their principles, they retired entirely, and in a body, from the Assembly of Pennsylvania. They were rather steeped in the sense of their personal responsibility as English subjects, than as guides of the government and state. Civil and religious liberty owe them an enormous debt, however, and this was recognized by successive Governors until the country entered on the period of the Revolution. The Meeting then adopted a position of neutrality, and the English Friends were in constant communication with them. Certain Friends, however, definitely favored the American cause, to which the majority eventually came, despite many assertions to the contrary. The meetings, with a single exception of a small group of individuals known as the "Free Quakers" and now non-existent, definitely opposed war. Dr. Fothergill wrote, "If America relaxes, both you and we are all undone. Submission to the prevailing power must be your duty. *The prevailing power is the general voice of America.*" We all know the result.

George Washington was elected President in 1789, and on 10 mo. 2 of that year the meeting appointed 19 members to prepare an address to the first President. In this they followed English precedent, which is still cherished by the Friends in Great Britain, permitting them direct address to the Crown. The coöperation of New York Friends was secured, and the address was presented by the following Friends from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting: William Savery, Samuel Emlen, John Hoskins, Oliver Paxson, Jacob Lindley, David Cooper, Henry Drinker, Nicholas Waln,

Samuel Allinson, Richard Hartshorne and James Pemberton. The delegates from New York were George Bowne, John Murray, James Parsons, Henry Haydock and Edmund Pryor. Their address is too long to repeat, but let us pause for a moment to visualize that audience with the courtly and dignified Washington, and the no less dignified delegation. The minutes do not tell us the exact date, but Nicholas Waln, as Clerk, signed the address, and it was probably presented by John Hoskins, who was the Chairman. They said "our Hearts are affectionately drawn to thee and those in authority over us, with Prayers that thy Presidency may, under the blessing of Heaven, be happy to thyself and to the people, and that . . . Divine Providence may condescend to look down upon our Land with a propitious Eye and bless the Inhabitants with the Continuance of Peace."

Among the most interesting letters in our archives in Philadelphia is the President's reply, the whole in his own handwriting.

"Gentlemen:

I received with pleasure your affectionate address, and thank you for the friendly Sentiments and good wishes which you express for the Success of my administration and and for my personal Happiness.

We have reason to rejoice in the prospect that the present National Government, which by the favor of Divine Providence, was formed by the common Counsels and peaceably established with the common consent of the people, will prove a blessing to every denomination of them. To render it such my best endeavors shall not be wanting.

Government being, among other purposes, instituted to protect the persons and Consciences of men from oppression, it certainly is the duty of Rulers, not only to abstain from it themselves, but according to their Stations to prevent it in others.

The liberty enjoyed by the People of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeable to their Consciences, is not only among the choicest of their *Blessings*, but also of their *Rights*. While men perform their social Duties faithfully, they do all that Society or the State can with propriety demand or expect: and remain responsible only to their Maker for the Religion or mode of faith which they may prefer or profess.

Your principles & conduct are well known to me—and it is doing the People called Quakers no more than Justice to

> say that (except their declining to share with others the burthen of the common defence) there is no Denomination among us who are more exemplary and useful citizens.
>
> I assure you very explicitly that in my opinion the Conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy & tenderness, and it is my wish and desire that the laws may always be as extensively accommodated to them, as a due regard to the Protection and essential Interests of the nation may Justify, and permit.
>
> GEO. WASHINGTON

It was during the residence of William Penn, who was anxious that Quaker principles should have full trial through the members of the meeting taking office in government affairs, that strong opposition to Quaker rule arose in both of his colonies. They had what was then called a political *machine* by their opponents, and indeed, historians like Fiske could not be expected to understand the Quaker point of view. The triumph of Quakerism in 1718 in having an affirmation accepted instead of an oath, the struggles of conscience through seventy years of peaceful Quaker rule, the many treaties and conferences with the Indians, and all the details of a happy but rigidly directed social life, into which tempting path we may not here wander, are traceable through the centuries in the minutes of this meeting. Liberty was the note of William Penn's life and thought, and our inheritance of political and religious freedom is from him. A unique copy of his "Magna Charta" of 1687 is in possession of this Yearly Meeting, and through this he tried to teach his followers their "many precious privileges." [3] All Christian bodies are to enjoy equal liberty. We are all too painfully aware of what differences in the interpretation of belief may lead to. This gathering comes together in pairs from our various meetings, when it should come as one united body, which we trust it will some day. If this great occasion could in any way reach back to the day of its beginning, and wipe out a century's differences, to enter on the coming years, so fraught with ominous portent in this perplexed and militant world, as a united body of believers, as I am persuaded we really are, what might such a power not accomplish?

[3] This precious pamphlet of the smallest pocket size is entitled, "The Excellent Privilege of/ Liberty & Property/ being the/ Birthright/ of the Freeborn Subjects of England."

The words of Andrew Hamilton, as he retired from the office of Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1739, are impressive. "By many years' experience," he says, "we find that an equality among religious bodies, without distinguishing one sect with greater privileges than another is the most effective method to discourage hypocrisy, promote the practice of moral virtues and prevent the plagues and mischiefs that always attend religious discussion. This is our Constitution, and this Constitution was framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn."

Pennsylvania is to celebrate next year the 250th anniversary of the coming of the maker of the "Holy Experiment." Let us not forget that he set his seal on this Yearly Meeting, and that to his liberal mind we owe much of our spiritual freedom.

The nineteenth century was our critical period. It may not be dwelt on here. We are favored now with the ability to review our own history with courage and a better sense of proportion than has ever been possible before, and this has been done by able pens. Prosperity is always a greater test of character than adversity, and therefore, with more wealth and comfort, in the course of time, we narrowed our outlook and increased our limitations. But the community sense was lacking, and the great accomplishments of the century were those of individuals, Elizabeth Fry, John Bright, Lucretia Mott, and John Greenleaf Whittier, with many other consecrated lives, the results of whose noble efforts are evident today in more than one nation. The difference lies not altogether in ourselves. The nineteenth century was a transforming period. The Society of Friends had lived through the intense concentration on religious interests and interpretations of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which distinguished all the world at that time. It was keeping its attention fixed on itself, endeavoring to remain individual, apart, peculiar, living in a side eddy of the great stream of life, which was sweeping on to modern materialism, and the incredible scientific developments of the last fifty years.

The way has opened out, and most of the trammels of Quaker convention have outlived their usefulness and been laid aside. The future is in the hands of our best educated young people. A truly awakened conscience, with the wider outlook, has brought a deep sense of responsibility upon us. The cause of Peace is

pressing heavily and with deep urgency. We point to our Quaker centers abroad, which have sprung into activity since the horrors of the greatest war in history, as an accomplishment demanding future consecrated effort. The Far East is in as close touch with us today as was Mary Fisher's next town, when in the seventeenth century she made her life effort to see and preach to "The Great Turk." Quakerism today stands at the cross-roads. It must share in the world's great movements. It is learning to work with others, and in groups, and to face facts. It still hesitates, as its forefathers did not, to make aggressive effort in the political arena, although it stands shocked when our government refuses to naturalize those who think as we do, that allegiance to our country comes second to allegiance to our God. There is an appalling amount of work to be done, if we are to survive as a Society in the difficult future immediately before us. But I refuse to share in the utter pessimism that greets us on almost every page of modern literature. Our Quaker President, speaking at Earlham College in 1922, impressed upon his hearers the idea of *service*—this great tradition which has motivated the Society of Friends since the days of the plague in the City of London in 1666, through each great war down to modern times; our Civil War, the Franco-Prussian War, and the World War, when the outstanding individuals in relief work had the leadership of the Quakers.

It is a vision of righteousness that must be ours, and the fathers have taught us that our country has a great claim on our time and our hearts. It is hard for some of us to realize that the young men and women of twenty and twenty-one, now graduating from our schools and colleges, have no distinct knowledge of this last great war that wrung our very souls. It is to these young people that we must look to carry on the torch of Quakerism. An ideal is worth more than material success, and I am persuaded that America has not lost the ideals that William Penn and George Washington upheld. They are only temporarily submerged. May we not hope that the coming generations will live through this modern confusion, and, like Wordsworth, see a vision of beauty, getting from it

> "Authentic tidings of invisible things
> Of ebb and flow and ever enduring power
> And central peace existing at the heart
> Of endless agitation."

THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING

What was probably the largest and most significant meeting ever held under the auspices of Friends' Historical Association convened at Burlington, New Jersey, Sixth Month twentieth, 1931. It was the annual summer meeting of the Association. It commemorated a gathering held at the same place in 1681, from which in the course of time developed Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

Estimates of the number present varied from fifteen hundred to two thousand people. The present writer would place the number at seventeen hundred. In any case it was a much larger company of Friends than most of us had ever seen together before or will perhaps see again. They came in friendly mood to endure the heat, enjoy the shaded grounds of the old meeting house, thrill to the stories and pictures of the past, and depart with a new feeling of responsibility for present and future.

The afternoon session in the meeting house was presided over by Charles F. Jenkins, President of Friends' Historical Association. The company in the yard was as large as that in the house but the messages were brought to it clearly by electrical amplifiers. The chief historical address, by Amelia M. Gummere, is printed above. The complete program is outlined below. The pictures tell their own story. The message from London Yearly Meeting is also printed. Its reading by Helen M. Marsh and the words of Henry T. Hodgkin seemed to bring the mother yearly meeting into the heart of the occasion. The letter from President Hoover was also greatly appreciated by those present. The historical tableaux given in the shade of the old sycamore tree were a fitting climax to a great and meaningful occasion.

(Accounts of the meeting were published in *Friends Intelligencer*, 7 mo. 4, 1931, and in *The Friend*, Phila., 7 mo. 9, 1931. See also the anniversary numbers of the same papers, 6 mo. 20 and 6 mo. 18, 1931, respectively. A full and valuable account of the meeting was also published in *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, Univ. of Penna., 34 (1931): 111–113.)

PROGRAM

Afternoon Meeting

CHARLES FRANCIS JENKINS, Presiding

Welcome by Clerks of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting
D. Robert Yarnall, Arch St. George A. Walton, Race St.

Greetings from Yearly Meetings (see below)

Roll Call of Delegates from the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings

Our Past and Our Future — Amelia Mott Gummere

Roll Call of the Early Friends
Represented in Costume of that Period by Descendants
(see list below)

Evening Meeting

In the Meeting House Yard above, under the sycamore tree standing in 1677.

(Preceded at the same place by box supper brought by members and their guests; ice cream and coffee being provided by the Association.)

Tableau I.

The arrival of the First Quaker Settlers of Burlington from the Ship "Kent," Gregory Marlow, Master, 1677.

Tableau II.

The First Friends' Meeting upon Landing, under the Sail of the "Kent," 1677.

Tableau III.

Indian Land Purchase and Treaty. Present: Chief Ockanickon, his Wife, the Squaw Mattellionequay; the noted Swedish Indian Interpreter, Captain Lasse (Lawrence) Cock; Deputy Governor Samuel Jenings, Thomas Budd, etc. (Wampum and Skins with other Trading "Truck," such as Jewsharps, Knives, Scissors, Tin Plates, etc.), 1677.

Tableau IV.

Surveyor Richard Noble lays out the Town of Burlington. Present: Governor Jenings, Thomas Olive, Chief Ockanickon, etc. (Surveying Instruments, Vellum Land Deeds, Survey Plots and Maps), 1677.

Tableau V.

Commissioner Thomas Olive holds Court in the Field on a Stump. Present: Settlers and Indians with Trading "Truck," 1678–9.

The arrival of the first Quaker settlers of Burlington from the Ship "Kent," Gregory Marlow, Master, 1677. Chief Ockanickon greeting Deputy Governor Jenings.

Incantations of Medicine Man over the dying Chief Ockanickon. Shortly after this the Chief gives his dying message to his nephew Jahkursoe (at the right) who is to be his successor in office: "Brother's Son, I would have thee to cleanse thy Ears, and take all Darkness and foulness out, that thou maist take notice of that which is Good and Evil, and then to joyn with that which is Good, and refuse the Evil; and also to cleanse thy Eyes that thou maist see both Good and Evil; and if thou see any Evil do not joyn with it, but joyn to that which is Good, Brother's Son."

TABLEAU IV.

The Dying Indian Chief Ockanickon charges his Successor in Office, His Nephew Jahkursoe: "Brother's Son, I would have thee to cleanse thy Ears, and take all Darkness and foulness out, that thou maist take notice of that which is Good and Evil, and then to joyn with that which is Good, and refuse the Evil; and also to cleanse thy Eyes that thou maist see both Good and Evil; and if thou see any Evil do not joyn with it, but joyn to that which is Good, Brother's Son."

Witnesses present: The Chief's Wife, Mattellionequay; Medicine Man Tellinggreiffee, Thomas Budd, Sarah Biddle, Jane Noble, Mary Cripps, Ann Browne, etc., in early 1682.

TABLEAU VII.

The First Yearly Meeting, in the House of Thomas Gardner, at Burlington, 6 Mo. (August) 31, 1681.

ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE

Chairman

LYDIA FLAGG GUMMERE
Haverford, Pennsylvania

MARY S. ALLEN
ELIZA R. BISHOP
FRANCES B. G. BRANSON
LINDA W. CORSON
AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE
HENRY V. GUMMERE
EDITH W. HALL
GEORGE NORMAN HIGHLEY
ALBERT COOK MYERS
MARY T. S. PATTERSON
WALTER F. PRICE
JANE MOON SNIPES
GEORGE VAUX
MARY JAMES VAUX
EDWARD WOOLMAN
LILIAN W. WOOLMAN
CATHARINE MORRIS WRIGHT

OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES APPOINTED BY THE PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETINGS TO ATTEND THE MEETING AT BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY, 6 MO. 20, 1931

Charles S. Albertson (H.)
Henry H. Albertson (O.)
Clement E. Allen (O.)
J. Henry Bartlett (O.)
William C. Biddle (H.)
Eliza R. Bishop (O.)
Caroline E. Blair (H.)
Edwin K. Bonner (H.)
Henry J. Cadbury (O.)
Charles Evans (O.)
William R. Fogg (H.)
Amelia M. Gummere (O.)
John S. C. Harvey (H.)
William I. Hull (H.)
Rayner W. Kelsey (O.)
William A. Longshore (H.)
Elizabeth Palmer (H.)
Henry Ridgway (H.)
Jane P. Rushmore (H.)
Alfred G. Scattergood (O.)
Jane Moon Snipes (O.)
Francis R. Taylor (O.)
Mary R. Williams (O.)
Evan T. Worthington (H.)
D. Robert Yarnall (O.)

LIST OF THOSE PARTICIPATING IN THE ABOVE TABLEAUX

(Most of the participants were descendants of the early settlers)

Deputy Governor Samuel Jenings	H. Tatnall Brown, Jr.
Ann Jenings (his wife)	Mary Fisher Brown (Mrs. H. Tatnall Brown, Jr.)
Commissioner Thomas Budd	Francis R. Taylor
Susanna Budd (his wife)	Dorothy Scott (Mrs. Isaac) Miller
Proprietor Daniel Leeds	Arthur N. Leeds
Ann Leeds (his wife)	Elizabeth Richie (Mrs. Francis R.) Taylor
Proprietor Restore Lippincott	Horace Mather Lippincott
Hannah Shattuck Lippincott (his (wife)	Sarah Jenkins (Mrs. H. M.) Lippincott
Proprietor William Biddle	William C. Biddle
Sarah Kempe Biddle (his wife)	Anne Biddle (Mrs. Edmund) Stirling
Proprietor John Cripps	Sydney L. Wright, Jr.
Mary Cripps (his wife)	Catharine Morris Wright (Mrs. Sydney L. Wright, Jr.)
Ann Browne	Caroline Engle (Mrs. Franklin S.) Blair
Proprietor George Deacon	Gerald H. Deacon
Proprietor John Woolston	Thomas C. Potts
Hannah Woolston (his wife)	Ethel Rhoads (Mrs. T. C.) Potts
Judge Thomas Olive	John W. Cadbury, Jr.
Commissioner Robert Stacey	Ottho Gerard Heldring-Bye
Proprietor John Woolman, Sr.	Henry N. Woolman, Jr.
Elizabeth Borton (fiancée of John Woolman)	Lydia R. Woolman
Proprietor Thomas Hooten	George Vaux
Proprietor Dr. Daniel Wills	Henry Warrington Wills
Elizabeth Wills (his wife)	Rebecca Wills (Mrs. Theodore) Hetzel
Commissioner Richard Hartshorne	Alfred E. Vail

Catharine Hartshorne (his wife)	Anna Hartshorne (Mrs. Carroll T.) Brown
Proprietor Thomas Gardner	Harrison Gardner
Elizabeth Gardner (his wife)	Margaret Gardner
Surveyor Richard Noble	I. Thomas Steere
Jane Noble (his wife)	Martha A. T. (Mrs. I. Thomas) Steere
William Matlack	William Matlack
Proprietor Robert Murfin	Edward W. Smith
Ann Murfin (his wife)	Sarah A. G. Smith
Captain Lasse (Lawrence) Cock	Arthur E. Bye
Gregory Marlow (Master of Ship Kent)	John B. G. Branson
Ockanickon (a Chief of the Delawares)	J. Redman Engle
Mattellionequay (squaw of Chief)	Esther Evans Thomas
Jahkursoe	Russell W. Richie
Tellinggreiffee (Medicine Man)	Henry J. Cadbury

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT HOOVER

The White House
Washington

June 18, 1931.

My dear Mr. Jenkins:

I am interested in the 250th Anniversary of the founding of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, which is being celebrated on June 20th at Burlington, New Jersey, under the auspices of the Friends Historical Association.

One cannot calculate the value of the spiritual influences which have radiated from this pioneer organization through two and a half centuries. I should like to take this occasion to extend my warmest congratulations and good wishes to those participating in the celebration.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) Herbert Hoover

Mr. Charles Francis Jenkins,
232 South 7th St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

REMARKS BY D. ROBERT YARNALL

Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street)

In this beautiful garden country, how easy it is for us to draw an appropriate analogy on this 250th anniversary of the founding of our Yearly Meeting: Roots, Trunk, Branches, Blossoms, Fruit.

As with fruit trees, some years are good years, some not so good, some indifferent. So with Quakerism, some generations are productive of the fruits of the spirit, some are not. Some generations produce: John Woolman, Stephen Grellet, Thomas Chalkley, Anthony Benezet, Lucretia Mott, Eliza P. Gurney.

We need divinely led prophets today—a John Woolman to guide us through our complex of industrial confusion.

We need a Society of Friends deep-rooted in those things of the spirit which produce prophets. It is therefore good for us periodically to meet together to take account of our prophet-heritage development.

In the 250 years that have passed there have been differences, but this is not the time or place to accentuate differences. Happily in 1931 the Friends in the vicinity of Philadelphia are living together in rather stable equilibrium and with an accelerating degree of Love and Unity.

We hear quoted so often in our meetings, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." Was there ever such a time in Quakerdom of *truth seeking* as the last quarter century of our 250 years? If we are believers in these Spiritual researches as manifestly we are in scientific researches, then may we not expect to see before many more decades are added to the 25 that have passed since 1681 a still finer, broader conception of Quaker Love and Unity?

In anticipation of the settlement of New Jersey, George Fox wrote, "My friends that are gone or are going over to plant and make outward plantations in America, keep your own plantations in your heart with the spirit and power of God that your own vines and lillies be not hurt."

In its word of greeting, Arch Street Yearly Meeting can do no better on this memorable occasion than to reiterate these words of George Fox. In our outreaching activities and our

concern for human brotherhood, may they be our watchword: "Keep your own plantations in your heart with the spirit and power of God that your own vines and lillies be not hurt."

ABSTRACT OF REMARKS BY GEORGE A. WALTON

Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Race Street)

Welcoming the audience on behalf of Race Street Yearly Meeting, George A. Walton said that he felt like speaking both on behalf of the present membership and especially that larger group of country Friends who had been the backbone of the Society from its establishment in America.

It was their lot to live under strict limitations. They were pioneers, with limited opportunities for earning income and for social intercourse. They were human beings craving the satisfactions that other men crave, and yet achieving a balance and an emphasis in their lives that made Quakerism a permanent force. The same balance and the same emphasis must be continued as Friends are changing the form of their lives, if the Quaker movement is to count in our day as in the past.

These country Friends of old, like other men, craved action. The wilderness challenged them. They had to do something about it. Weeds on their farms and filth in their homes challenged them. They had to clean up. Sickness and destitution in their neighborhoods called for relief. The Indian, suspended between two ways of life, unable to live according to his primitive code or to realize the virtues of the invading Christian civilization, called for an interest and care that was expressed in terms of money contributed and deeds done. The escaping slave, the freedman Negro, aroused the desire to do something.

Yet how limited in scope was the opportunity for the ancient Friend to take action. He could not travel the world with ease, hear its broadcasts, nor read its news daily.

The Friend of former days craved knowledge. Poorly educated for the most part and handicapped by a lack of books, he set up such schools as means permitted, cherished his slender shelf of books, and made collections of natural objects, some of them becoming of great scientific import.

Modern society showers knowledge upon us in an indigestible quantity. That which was the passion of the early Friends becomes the commonplace of the modern.

The country Friend of the past craved wealth. To improve his land and make it more productive was his chief occupation. Thrift and even frugality were virtues to be encouraged. Slender estates were perpetuated from generation to generation, growing as time passed through shrewd investments. This process has largely transformed the Society from a group of farmers whose property was in land and whose fruits required personal manual labor to a group of owners of securities and business executives, profiting by the labor of others.

The rural Friends of the past craved beauty and sought for it in their farm houses, which artistic Friends of today love to buy and restore. Their furniture of the 18th century provides us with our most cherished heirlooms. Drawing and painting flourished among them, often with little opportunity for instruction, and crude results have been carefully preserved in many a home. Musical and dramatic forms of art had been, by religious principles, stamped out of their lives.

Although these cravings arose as among modern people, the old Friends who welcome us here today let none of these forces usurp first place in their daily lives. They might compromise and remain inactive, stopping the pursuit of knowledge or wealth. The consideration of beauty might be forgotten in the light of a higher claim. Before all else, these Friends placed their faith that God would enter their individual lives, making a pattern for them according to the form of his will. With Him, there were no compromises.

The organization of modern society opens to us manifold opportunities denied to our ancestors. A variety of good causes urge us into action. The pursuit of knowledge and of wealth form the life work of many, and among the younger generation our country is going in for art with all the zest of a renaissance period. Competition for fame is terrific and even leadership in service calls for a high degree of skill and an almost exclusive devotion.

Are Friends, then, in this and future generations to lose them-

selves in these worldly callings? Can we not achieve the emphasis and balance of life of our forbears, who saw first and foremost God in the human soul, His creative power molding manhood and womanhood, a vivid, personal, governing force, making high the purpose of life's activity, guarding the accumulation of wealth from social injustice, and its disbursement from selfishness, transmuting knowledge into wisdom, and lifting art above the low level of mere technical excellence, infusing it with soul?

LETTER FROM LONDON YEARLY MEETING

Read by Helen M. Marsh

Dear Friends,

London Yearly Meeting has heard with great interest of the proposed 250th anniversary celebration of the first Philadelphia Yearly Meeting at Burlington, West Jersey.

We join with you in giving thanks again for the courage and faithfulness of our forefathers, and especially for that little band of pioneers who braved stormy seas in tiny ships to found in the wilderness a new commonwealth, a "Holy Experiment."

It is no small joy to us that the two Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia are joining with one heart and mind in the celebration of an event so precious and so sacred to both alike.

Our Swarthmore Lecture has been given to us this year by one of yourselves (Howard H. Brinton). He has told of the turning of the thinking world from a mechanistic philosophy and civilization to a belief in the creative life of the Spirit. There are signs of a new hunger for the Gospel which those old pioneers risked their lives to spread. Only in the light and life to which they called men can the difficulties and misunderstandings between nations, classes, races, individuals be resolved, only in that faith can each find liberty to make a true contribution to the life of the world.

In the face of this new world call, we pray that your meetings may be not only a celebration of the heroic deeds of the past, but the beginning of a new era of deeper intelligence and stronger

faith in Christ's message, and of a fresh dedication to the service to which God is calling us.

On behalf of London Yearly Meeting,

HAROLD J. MORLAND, *Clerk.*

NOTES FROM AN ADDRESS BY HENRY T. HODGKIN

Resident of Pennsylvania, speaking as a member of London Yearly Meeting

I feel it to be a great privilege and responsibility to represent on this occasion the mother Yearly Meeting of London, and I am grateful to the organizers of this celebration for giving me the opportunity to do so. I am sure that the members of London Yearly Meeting would rejoice to see this gathering. My memory goes back to the Yearly Meetings nearly forty years ago when discussions arose from time to time in regard to correspondence with American Yearly Meetings. I remember some quite tense moments when opinions were much divided as to whether correspondence should be accepted or initiated with meetings outside the charmed circle labelled Orthodox. The letter which has just been read is one of many indications of the complete change which has taken place in London Yearly Meeting on this subject. There can be no doubt now that London Yearly Meeting feels a sense of fellowship with Friends in the varied groups into which Quakerism has unfortunately been divided in this country and that there will be many in London Yearly Meeting who would greatly rejoice if an outcome of this 250th anniversary were the quickening of the processes already at work for sweeping away these ancient barriers so largely meaningless today.

I have a particular interest myself in Burlington meeting. As many of you know my great-grandmother, Hannah Chapman Backhouse, visited America and just about 100 years ago came to this meeting, especially in order to show her sympathy with Stephen Grellet who was then laying before Friends his concern for service abroad. I find in my great-grandmother's journal several references to Burlington and in these and similar cases, she was much exercised as to what her duty was in regard to the

very serious divisions among Friends in this area. Reading those pages one is plunged into a realization of the intense feeling and the strained relations of Friends towards one another. How thankful we must be that we can look back on that period now as to history of a kind which we may well hope will not repeat itself.

But naturally our minds go back not for one hundred years simply but for two hundred and fifty and as I have thought of these Quakers of the olden time, landing in Burlington, staking out their claims and coming together for the foundation of the Yearly Meeting, I have been impressed with the thought of what courage and faith they had. They were robust men and women. Of many of them as of George Fox, it may be truly said, "as staunch as a tree and as true as a bell." One wonders what they would say to us if they did, in very truth, step into this gathering. I have the feeling that they might ask us three very plain and pointed questions. The first one might be framed somewhat thus, "Hast thou found?" The Quaker Movement had power in its day because the "first publishers of truth" came to the seekers of their time as men and women who had found. There were many people as there are today full of uncertainties, far from satisfied. To them the Quaker of the olden time had a message of his own discovery. It was this which gave them power. It is this which we need for a vital Quakerism today.

The second question might be framed in the good Quaker, "Wast thou faithful?" The Friends of the olden time knew well enough that the fine jewel they had discovered was not for them alone—the talent was to use and invest. It is required in stewards that they be found faithful. In our meetings for worship and in other avenues of life, how often do the good things we know slip from us because we are not faithful to the call? These men and women by their faithfulness justified their discovery.

And it would seem to me that a third question might well be asked, "Art thou diligent?" Their faithfulness in delivering the message in the face of opposition needed something more, namely, the diligence of a life devoted day in day out to the good task. In their diligence these men and women travelled far. They carried out their convictions in the little details of life as well as in the larger concerns. They did not spare themselves.

And so we who today record the fact that these men found the truth which remade them, that they were faithful to the vision and gave themselves with diligence to the task, we, by the fact that we enter into their labors, are summoned to follow in their footsteps. May this anniversary which brings us together so happily be itself a summons to us to rise and meet the needs of this day as the Quakers of the olden time met the needs of their day.

These thoughts seem to me to follow out of the message of London Yearly Meeting—a message which besides reminding us of the robust faith of the early Friends, also bids us look forward and take up afresh the torch which they have handed down to us. In the quiet certainty, the faithful spirit and the diligent self-giving of these our forefathers in the faith, we see the secret of their achievements. With like qualities we, their successors, may go forward with good hope to meet the calls of our generation.

GREETING FROM NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING (PROVIDENCE)

By Rufus M. Jones

I am glad to bring greetings on this auspicious occasion from New England Yearly Meeting—the oldest Yearly Meeting on this continent. It has met annually since the year 1661 and is thus twenty years older than the one we celebrate today. Our seed in New England was planted with a baptism of blood. Before William Penn landed in Philadelphia four Quakers had been hanged in Boston, over forty had been whipped, some of them unmercifully beaten. Sixty-four had been imprisoned, forty had been banished, one had been branded with a red hot iron and three had had their ears cropped off.

In 1672 George Fox attended New England Yearly Meeting at Newport and gave the Quaker movement in the eastern colonies a new expansion. The Friends at that time were so knit and united together in love that they spent two days taking leave of one another. "Then being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord," Fox says, "they went away with joyful hearts." There is a tradition that the onlookers at this scene of parting exclaimed: "How these Friends love one another!"

They did not always love one another that way. A separation came in 1845, over the controversy between John Wilbur and the friends of Joseph John Gurney and this involved Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in a vast amount of trouble and heartache. The kindly years have healed the wounds and now we are all members of one common family of faith, one fellowship of the Spirit.

We cannot be too thankful that our fathers incarnated their spiritual truth and vision in a living permanent body that has successfully transmitted it. Individual men and women die and their labors cease. Even a George Fox and a William Penn, with all their dynamic quality, could cover only a short temporal span of years. But an organic body of many members like this one has a kind of immortality. It grows old at one extremity, but it constantly renews its youth at the other extremity, and is reborn as fast as it dies. It is like the pillar in the temple of God that goes no more out.

You have come down from a former generation and you reach on toward another not yet born. For a quarter of a millennium you have kept the faith of those fathers, and you have handed on the torch they kindled. We of the other Yearly Meetings owe you an immense debt. Today we bring you our thanks and our loyalty and we bid you God-speed for the coming lustrum of your history.

> "Not prayerless the stones of your corner were laid;
> The blessing of Him whom in secret they sought
> Has owned the good work which the fathers have wrought."

Brief greetings were also brought from New England Yearly Meeting by WILBUR K. THOMAS.

GREETING FROM NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING (WESTERLY, R. I.)

By Henry H. Perry, *Clerk*

To the proposal of New England Yearly Meeting at Westerly that I be one of the delegates on this happy occasion my first

reaction was that I would be unable to attend; but upon further thought it seemed that I could not stay away.

From the time of my birth until I was six or seven years old I lived across the street from a wooden Meeting House, painted yellow, which in honesty must be admitted to have been not only plain but ugly. But this applies wholly to externals. Within its walls I can still recall the sweet, if sometimes stern, atmosphere of Yearly Meeting. "Yellow Meeting," I thought it was called, a name that seemed too casual for dignity, but nevertheless readily enough explained by the color of the building. The bees that buzzed in and out of the windows on hot summer days and the smell of new hay and buttercups and daisies are among my vivid impressions, all mingled with the earnest entreaties of serious and ancient men in the gallery on one side and sweet faced women Friends, much hidden away under scoop bonnets, on the other side.

The meetings to me were very burdensome and lengthy, beyond all reason, but it is evident to me now that they were times of great refreshment to the older folk.

We were a little group, pleased to consider itself a remnant, attempting to carry on a Friends' organization on the side of a fence to which we had been relegated. From an organization point of view it must have seemed that we were on the outside of the fence, but I know I felt that spiritually we were on the inside.

The building of the fence was a tragedy and judged from our present outlook, an unnecessary tragedy. Let us leave the tragedy and turn to the kindly spirit and sacrifice that made it possible for our little group to carry on its meetings year after year, emphasizing and reemphasizing the maintenance of a "waiting, spiritual worship and a free Gospel ministry exercised under the anointing of the Holy Spirit." Those were discouraging times for our older people and I can still hear them expressing, both in and out of Meeting, their gratitude for the attendance of sympathetic members from other Yearly Meetings who came to sit with us and to add courage and spiritual strength.

It is my pleasure today to come to express again on behalf of the members of our Yearly Meeting our gratitude and our in-

debtedness to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for the helpful presence and inspiring ministry of many of its members, that have been felt by some three or four generations. It is impossible for us to recall the meetings of forty years ago without recalling as vital parts of them such Friends as Charles Rhoads, Joseph S. Elkinton and his son Joseph Elkinton, William Evans, Joseph Walton and Zebedee and Anna Haines. In later days we have not been forgotten by members of your Yearly Meeting: James M. Moon, William Bishop, William B. Harvey, Sarah W. Cooper, Hannah P. Morris, Watson W. Dewees, Albert H. Votaw, Esther Morton Smith, Ann Sharpless and Henry J. Cadbury are among the many Friends who have joined with us in our homes and in our meetings until we have felt the strength of a tie of friendship and affection that cannot be broken. As I recalled what your friendship has meant, not only to us but to our fathers, I felt that I could not stay away today.

In recalling our ties, one cannot fail to mention the education many of us have received in your schools, beginning, probably, with the attendance of my father's mother at Westtown and continuing to children of our members now enrolled there. Others of us have been both pupils and teachers at Westtown. Not a few of us have become by marriage your happy sons and daughters-in-law.

The future of our little group is uncertain. On my place at Dover, Massachusetts, I can trace through the woods and fields the remnants of stone walls that once divided farm from farm. Likewise the fence of which I have spoken here has become but a trace. Division lines may still be justified but there is no barrier left which must be climbed in order to see over it, no barrier left to shut out intercourse or light and air and good will.

Possibly we have taken ourselves too seriously; but we try to believe, despite our evident limitations, that the strength of the hub rather than its size determines how large a rim it can serve. That is at least an accredited Quaker doctrine. For the present we see no immediate course but for us to carry on, to what end we know not; to good ends we trust, if we carry on with love and with dependence upon the divine will.

No body of Friends can look into history and fail to see mis-

takes that it has made but we come here today to express our admiration of your past, however beset with difficulties; to rejoice with you in the present, which though it discloses new problems, yet contains the promise of added strength to meet them; and to express our hope and trust in your future. If it may be in the course of your duties and inclination to continue to lend us of your courage and strength, the little group in southern New England will be grateful to you in the future as it has been so long and truly in the past.

MEMORANDUM OF MESSAGE FROM NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING (ORTHODOX)

By L. Hollingsworth Wood, *Clerk*
(who was asked to speak also for the Five Years Meeting)

Speaking for New York Yearly Meeting, and for the Five Years Meeting, it is my pleasant task to bring the affectionate greetings of the Yearly Meeting in New York which has been associated with Philadelphia Friends in so many explorations of the Society, such as the starting of Haverford College and of Swarthmore College, and where so many of us have been the products of the educational institutions within the borders of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

When I read the invitation to New York Yearly Meeting, which has just closed its sessions at Poughkeepsie, New York, the Clerks, Eleanor W. Taber and L. Hollingsworth Wood, were directed to carry to the meeting at Burlington the enthusiastic interest of New York Yearly Meeting Friends in the Two Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary, and their abiding affection for the Friends who make up the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings.

While we cannot vie with New England in antiquity, we are pleased to be able to tell you that the Friendly spirit so far grips both the Yearly Meetings in New York State that we have been able to hold joint sessions; and that, though our Yearly Meeting is largely rural and the Yearly Meeting connected with the General Conference is largely urban and suburban on Long Island in its membership, there is no spirit of division which prevents

our continuous holding of joint meetings. We have many joint committees, for the care of our records and for joint general service of Friends in New York. So, too, Canada Yearly Meeting and Genesee Yearly Meeting (Canada having been set off by New York) are this year, this very month, holding their sessions of Yearly Meeting jointly as they have done for the two or three years last past. Needless to say we are proud of this forward-looking step by our Canada, the child of New York.

As I look at the correspondence which comes over my desk as Clerk of New York Yearly Meeting, I can see a great wave of unity and tolerance among Friends and the expression, in one of the Epistles, that "no progress is true progress which is not the fruit of love," speaks volumes for the subsidence of the spirit of controversy and the elevation of the creative spirit within the bounds of Quakerdom.

Speaking for the Five Years Meeting, I would bring a word of appreciation for Philadelphia Friends and their Yearly Meetings from every nook and corner of Quakerism in the United States, for nowhere in America has the influence of Philadelphia's benefactions to education failed to make itself felt.

In the Five Years Meeting, which includes New England, our oldest, and Nebraska, our youngest sister, we have experimented in expressing what seem to us sacred messages in ways which, though frequently they would hardly win the approval of a Quaker historical society, are nevertheless experiments the results of which are at your service to be used or relegated to the limbo of stepping-stones of our dead selves.

The last verse of Mary Hoxie Jones' poem, which she wrote for this celebration, rings fittingly in our ears:

> Fallen the house they built,
> Door-sill and rafter;
> Love, strength, and wisdom last
> Forever after.

And it is this sensation, throughout the Five Years Meeting, that in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, love, strength, and wisdom do last, that brings me, as spokesman for the Five Years Meeting, to you with a tribute of reverent love.

SUBSTANCE OF REMARKS BY LINDLEY D. CLARK

Recording Clerk of Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Homewood)

I think that I probably feel a peculiar interest in this opportunity of standing before this group of Friends and friendly persons representing mainly the autochthonic or indigenous Yearly Meetings that fringe the Atlantic Coast from Maine to Carolina,—partly because I am a descendant of former members of three of the five meetings, and by marriage I include the other two, as well as the now non-existent Virginia Yearly Meeting; and partly because I came into this eastern environment and fellowship after forming during my young manhood in mid-western surroundings and atmosphere a sort of feeling of veneration for the ancient and honorable bodies of these older origins, and this brings me into the midst of them all.

I am glad to be able to say that this early impression has not been dissipated, though no doubt modified, by the thirty-five or forty years of closer contact during my residence and journeyings within their limits. I learned long ago that the saying "Familiarity breeds contempt" is of more than doubtful trustworthiness. All depends on the qualities of the parties involved.

I am here in a sort of substitute capacity, since our Presiding Clerk did not feel that he could accept your invitation to be present at this time. Therefore, as a mere Recording Clerk, I am of somewhat lower ambassadorial status than, for instance, the Friend who has just preceded me. Nevertheless I feel fully authorized to speak of the cordial and friendly feeling and of the high esteem which Baltimore Yearly Meeting has for its neighbor, with whom we divide territory in two States and share interest in all that stands for the welfare of both, as well as of the world at large and Quakerdom in particular.

There is a highly dramatic element in these coastal beginnings that cannot be escaped,—the early settlements of Friends here and there among the ocean-fronting colonies from Massachusetts and Rhode Island to the south, with persecutions, sufferings and martyr deaths; difficult ministrations of visiting Friends traveling through almost pathless forests and fording unbridged streams,—then the reaching out for fellowship, and the coming together of the smaller groups to form the Yearly Meetings, with an eye to

the days to come. The vines thus planted "took root downward and bore fruit upward," and began to spread over the mountains, —partly impelled by the desire to escape the surroundings of slavery in the South, partly drawn by the lure of the open fertile lands of the West.

And so the scene changed,—not too rapidly, however. One hundred and forty-one years elapsed after its own formation before Baltimore Yearly Meeting set up Ohio Yearly Meeting as the first inland organization. Qualities had become fixed and attitudes developed in the older bodies, outgrowths of use and wont and an established tradition. In the new and less stable surroundings, contacts were more varied and populations more shifting, so that there were many influences affecting the later generations of pioneers that those who remained in the East did not feel. Friends from different Yearly Meetings mingled, and all faced mixed community problems, so that there have been developments in some, at least, of the resultant fellowships that have made some observers almost ready to charge them: "Begin not to say you have George Fox for your father."

Better acquaintance, however, often leads to new appreciation; and we can all rejoice today in whatever present measure of fellowship there is that unites all who bear the name of Friends, cultivating whatever mutual interest we find, cherishing each common ideal, each treasured portion of the common heritage. Surely the impatiences of the past and the bitter fruits they have borne may well make us thoughtful of the unities that remain and teach us to prize such occasions as this that make for fellowship and better understanding.

This is a day of good omen. Your senior by some nine years, Baltimore lays no claim to superior wisdom or greater venerableness. A ten-year old child is quite beyond the babe of a year; but a very understandable operation of the principle of relativity reduces the ratio with passing decades. And with organizations, the twenty-fifth decade is very like the twenty-sixth.

So, somewhat as an octogenarian is reported to have said to one who was just a year behind him: "It is all right to be your age; I have just passed through, and it has been a good year,"— we can only say: The cape you are rounding is a Cape of Good

Hope. Our past decade has been one of open doors and abundant opportunity; if there have been losses, also gains; if checks, also advances; if problems, also a Guide to their solution. Surely no less will be true for you and for us all as we face forwards, to meet that future of which we shall presently hear and which we shall forthwith fare forth to see, assured that He who sends us out will also be our Companion on the way.

REMARKS BY WILLIAM S. PIKE

Clerk of Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Park Avenue)

From the land of the Chesapeake and beyond, I bring you greetings—from the land hallowed by the footprints of our founder, George Fox, who came among our people more than 250 years ago, and on the Western Shore helped to establish Baltimore Yearly Meeting at West River.

Through sunshine and shadow, through happy and prosperous times, through storm and stress, our Meeting has continued on its way.

And now, we herald a better day of peace and harmony and of united effort in carrying forward those worthy principles for which our beloved Society has always stood and for which we today take a firm stand.

I bring to you our very best wishes and our sincerest congratulations on this happy occasion.

LETTER FROM SAMUEL L. HAWORTH, CLERK

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Guilford College)

About the middle of the eighteenth century many Pennsylvania Friends moved southward and southwestward into Virginia and the Carolinas. Meetings in the central and western portions of North Carolina Yearly Meeting were established or increased by the coming of these Friends. The name of the monthly meeting —New Garden—in whose limits Guilford College is located and North Carolina Yearly Meeting is held was imported from Penn-

A group of Friends who participated in the tableaux.

sylvania along with the Friends who settled here. There is therefore a close kinship with Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in the outward as well as the inward.

May the spirit of friendship, finding expression and receiving strength at every opportunity, by informal as well as formal visitation, bind us more closely together.

BURLINGTON, 1681–1931

By Mary Hoxie Jones

Fallen the house they made,
  Gone every rafter.
Nothing is left for us
  Who have come after.

Built with hands dedicate,
  Raised for their Master,
All is destroyed of wood,
  Of brick and plaster.

Yet did their hands erect,
  Although unknowing,
What cannot fall, but keeps
  Living and growing.

Fallen the house they made,
  Door-sill and rafter.
Love, strength and wisdom last
  Forever after.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Ernest H. Bennis, an Irish Friend, has presented to Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, a valuable manuscript entitled "Some Reminiscences of Limerick Friends." The records of Limerick Meeting go back to 1653. His paper covers historical and genealogical accounts of the Taverner, Alexander, Baylee, Bennis, Davis, Evans, Fisher, Fayle,

Grubb, Harvey, Jacob, Malcolm, Newsom, Pease, Pike, Sikes, Unthank families. The manuscript is full of interesting anecdotes of Irish Friends and Irish Meetings.

Friends' Historical Association has in its files a fairly good assortment of the printed programs of the meetings of recent years. Some programs are, however, missing from these files. It would be greatly appreciated if members of the Association, who have copies of former programs, will send them to the Secretary of the Association, Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Arrangements were made for a professional photographer to take pictures of the historical tableaux given in connection with the meeting of Friends' Historical Association at Burlington, N. J. Any one desiring to secure copies of these pictures should communicate with the photographer, Mr. W. E. Bonsor, 3805 Myrtle Avenue, Camden, New Jersey.

An interesting booklet has been published recently (1931) under the title of *Problems of Quakerism*. It is by D. Elton Trueblood, and it discusses pointedly and suggestively twenty-six problems, such as: Are the Ancient Testimonies Still Valid?—What New Testimonies Should Next Emerge?—What Can Friends Do About Their Divisions?—Can a Friend be a Good Citizen?

The booklet is admirably adapted for the use of Quaker study circles. It may be had at the rate of $5.00 a dozen by addressing the Young Friends Movement, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia.

Letitia A. Humphreys, of Philadelphia, has recently published, privately, a brief sketch of her great uncle, Charles Humphreys (1796–1870). The family descended from Daniel Humphreys, "who came from Dolgelly, Merionethshire, Wales, in 1682, and settled in Haverford Township, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, about seven miles from Philadelphia, where he had grist and fulling mills on Cobb's Creek." Charles Humphreys was a commission dealer in flour and grains, who spent most of his active business life in Philadelphia. He was an active and generous supporter of many philanthropic and progressive enterprises.

Vol. VII of the *Dictionary of American Biography* contains the following biographies of persons who were Friends or of Friendly connection: Robert Wilkinson Furnas (1824–1905); Bartholomew Fussell (1794–1871); Thomas Garrett (1789–1871); Abigail Hopper Gibbons (1801–1893); James Sloan Gibbons (1810–1892); William Gibbons (1781–1845); Mabel Gillespie (1867–1923); Henry Dilworth Gilpin (1801–1860); William Gilpin (1813–1894); John

Goddard (1723/4–1785); Pliny Earle Goddard (1869–1928); Henrietta Howland Robinson Green (1834–1916); Josiah Gregg (1806–1850); William Gregg (1800–1867); John Milton Greist (1850–1906); Stephen Grellet (1773–1855).

The Haverford College Library received in 1923 from Friends Library, London, a manuscript journal in two volumes, of unknown origin and authorship. It was an interesting and valuable account of a journey made by a southern gentleman from Charleston, South Carolina, through several of the northern states to Quebec, Canada, and back to Charleston. The Curator of Quakeriana at Haverford made intensive efforts to discover the author of the manuscript and was aided in his search by various scholars in South Carolina and elsewhere. Recently Professor J. H. Easterby, of the College of Charleston, South Carolina, discovered another manuscript copy of the same journal in the archives of the St. Andrew's Society, of Charleston. He also found an item in the *Minutes* of the Society that seemed to make it certain that the author was Dr. Philip Tidyman, a prominent South Carolinian of the early nineteenth century.

The journalist's description and discussion of Philadelphia institutions and people in 1810 are interesting and valuable. His severest criticism is leveled at the "Abolition Society," the members of which "merit not only the execration of all good men, but richly deserve the chastisement of the laws." —Vol. I, p. 74.

Our friend, John L. Nickalls, Librarian of Friends Library, Friends House, London, has sent out the following query:

> "In connection with a projected life of Stephen Grellet, I am seeking to trace the manuscript of his Journal. This appears to have been the principal authority for the *Memoirs* by Benjamin Seebohm. Do any of your readers know whether the manuscript has survived, and if so, who now owns it? Any information as to this or other original records of Stephen Grellet will be very gratefully received here."

In connection with the valuable materials concerning Elizabeth Haddon Estaugh, supplied to the BULLETIN recently by Rebecca N. Taylor, readers may be interested in two facsimile plates of the handwriting of Elizabeth Haddon Estaugh, 1746. See *Yearbook, 1930,* of the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania, frontispiece and opposite page 89.

In 1931 a thesis entitled, "Northern Yearly Meetings of Friends and Slavery" was presented by Clarence M. Macon to the Faculty of Hartford Theological Seminary as part of the requirement for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. While the author has not attempted to uncover fresh sources of information, he has made an interesting compilation of the chief facts pertinent to his subject. A manuscript copy of the thesis is available in the library of the Seminary. This thesis is another reminder of the fact that the entire work of Friends for the slaves and the freedmen remains as a splendid subject for a scholarly monograph.

Reference was made above to an account of the Burlington anniversary meeting published in *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle.* The editor of this splendid magazine, published by The General Alumni Society of the University of Pennsylvania, is our fellow member and Director of Friends' Historical Association, Horace Mather Lippincott.

Rather regularly there appears in print the old misstatement that the Puritans "burned" several Quakers on Boston Common. Four Friends were hanged but none was burned. Another frequent misstatement is that Pennsylvania was named after the founder, William Penn. It was, as most people know, named for the founder's father, the Admiral, Sir William Penn. The Editor was surprised to note both of these mistakes in a recent and widely used history of the United States by a well-known historical scholar.

Early this autumn the Macmillan Company brought out a book of poems, "Arrows of Desire," by Mary Hoxie Jones. Readers of the BULLETIN will be especially interested to find the Quaker background showing here and there through the book. An example is the following stanza from the poem on "Pendle Hill":

> "Covered with stones, dotted with sheep,
> Almost a wilderness, we stand receiving
> Power and glory and visions and keep
> Our joy in believing."

In the summer of 1931 the village of North Berwick, Maine, held a centennial celebration, at which our fellow member, Rufus M. Jones, gave the principal address. In connection with the celebration an *Historical Sketch of North Berwick*, by Samuel Buffum, was published. In this pamphlet are references to many Quaker worthies of the locality, and a picture of the present Friends' Meeting House, built in 1875.—Samuel Buffum is also author of a pamphlet sketch (1928) of William Hill, a Friend of North Berwick, who died Fifth Month 12, 1881. He was associated in business for a time with John D. Lang, well known to many Friends of Philadelphia.

Three years ago the BULLETIN (Autumn Number, 1928, p. 83) referred to the arrangement for moving the old meeting house built in 1759 at Maiden Creek, near Reading, Pennsylvania, to make way for a new city reservoir. The Editor is now informed by Mordecai S. Parvin, of Reading (R. D. 2) that the removal has been accomplished. The meeting house and schoolhouse have been placed on the new and larger plot of ground, as nearly as possible in the same relative position as formerly. Six hundred and eighty-six graves in the old burial ground were opened and the contents removed to the new location. Trees and a hedge have been planted, and the new grounds are being kept in good order, according to agreement, by the city of Reading.

Rebecca N. Taylor desires to correct a misstatement in her article in the Estaugh Business Papers in the BULLETIN, 20 (1931): 13. The reference to "an oak-beamed brick meeting house" should have been to "an oak-beamed *log* meeting house."

During the past summer the Editor had the pleasure of visiting the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Here one cannot travel very far without crossing and re-crossing the paths taken by George Fox during his American journey. Easton is of course the "Mecca" of a modern Friend. There one can sit in one of the oldest places of worship still standing in America. The house was built in 1684, and William Penn preached there during his second stay in America, having Lord and Lady Baltimore among his listeners. The neighborhood abounds in places of historic interest to Friends and to all who are interested in the past.

The speedometer registered only 140 miles between Easton and Philadelphia. Why could not the members of Friends' Historical Association have a "super-pilgrimage" some fine spring or autumn, and visit this remarkable place?

Among other things of interest seen at Easton was some beautiful Wedgewood (England) chinaware, made especially to commemorate the old Easton meeting house. The pieces are in dark blue, with a perfect view of the old meeting house on them. I understand some of this ware remained after the Editor made his purchase. Friends who are interested in securing some of it may address Mrs. James Dixon, Easton, Maryland.

The Editor also had the privilege during the past summer of visiting historic Wyalusing (northwest of Scranton) where the Moravian Indians lived when John Woolman and Benjamin Parvin visited them in 1763. There is an interesting stone marker in a field off the main highway, near the present town of Wyalusing. It marks the site of Friedenshütten ("cottages of peace"), where these Moravian Indians lived shortly after Woolman's visit and after the Wyoming massacre. (See Gummere, *Journal of John Woolman*, 94.)

One of the most elevated passages in Woolman's writings records some of his thoughts while on the journey mentioned above: "I had a prospect of the English along the Coast for upwards of nine hundred miles where I have traveled. And the favourable Scituation of the English, and the difficulties attending the natives [and the Slaves amongst us] were open before me, and a weighty and Heavenly care came over my mind, and love filled my heart toward all mankind, in which I felt a Strong Engagement that we might be [faithful] to the Lord while His mercies [are yet extended] to us, and so attend to pure Universal Righteousness as to give no just cause of offence to the gentiles who do not profess christianity, Whither the Blacks from Africa, or the Native Inhabitants of this Continent." (Gummere, *Journal of John Woolman*, 255.)

For an interesting account of a recent visit to Wyalusing by Ann Sharpless see *The Friend* (Phila.), 10 mo. 8, 1931, pp. 169–170.

The two-hundredth anniversary of Valley Meeting (east of Valley Forge) was celebrated 9 mo. 12, 1931. A large company of Friends enjoyed the addresses by various Friends, and the tableaux given by the First-day School. After the box supper there was a time of social intercourse and fellowship.

ITEMS FROM PERIODICALS

The Friend (Philadelphia)

—In the issue of 4 mo. 2, 1931, p. 474, there is a brief note concerning the life of Arthur Perry (1857–1930), of Boston, Quaker business man and philanthropist. On his mother's side he was a great-grandson of John Wilbur. He will be remembered around Philadelphia in connection especially with the beautiful meeting house which he and his wife gave to Westtown School.

—In the issue of 4 mo. 30, 1931, pp. 521–522, appeared a short memoir of the life of Albert Votaw (1850–1931), beloved teacher, devoted prison reformer, and esteemed member of Friends' Historical Association. He was born near Richmond, Indiana, but spent most of his active life in and about Philadelphia. For twenty-five years he was a teacher in Westtown School.

—Middletown Preparative Meeting, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, was transformed into a Monthly Meeting early in 1931. In that connection an historical sketch of "Middletown Meeting, 1835–1883" was prepared by Arthur R. Pennell, and was published in *The Friend*, 5 mo. 28, 1931, pp. 569–571.

—An interesting article appeared in the issue of 7 mo. 17, 1931, pp. 28–29, on the Quakers of Minden, Germany, at the end of the nineteenth century. A few of the older German Friends survived until the early years of the twentieth century. The last one died in 1914, and the meetings at Minden then came to an end. (The same article appeared in *The American Friend*, 7 mo. 9, 1931, p. 526.)—In connection with this item it may be of interest to note that almost all of the German converts to Quakerism that resulted from the visits of William Penn and other early Friends migrated to America after a few years. The Pyrmont and Minden meetings were the result of a second wave of Quaker missionary effort about 1790. As a strange coincidence, in the year (1914) that the Minden meeting came to an end, as mentioned above, the World War began, and in its wake was to follow a third planting of German Quakerism. All of these things are set forth in Wilhelm Hubben's *Die Quäker in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, published in 1929.

—An interesting article on Thomas Fowell Buxton's great work for the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire appeared in the issue of 7 mo. 23, 1931, pp. 44–45. (See also, for the same article, *Friends Intelligencer*, 8 mo. 15, 1931, pp. 698–699.)—Readers will no doubt recall that while Buxton was not actually a member with Friends he was closely allied with them by

birth, marriage and life-long interests. His mother was a devoted Friend, and he married Hannah Gurney, sister of Elizabeth Gurney Fry.

—An interesting account of a visit to John Woolman's grave, in York, England, by Walter L. Moore, appeared in the issue of 7 mo. 30, 1931, pp. 53–54.

—In the issue of 8 mo. 6, 1931, pp. 65–66, is an interesting and diverting article by our fellow member and former President, Francis R. Taylor, on "John Pemberton's Parking Paddock." (Same article in *Friends Intelligencer*, 8 mo. 8, 1931, pp. 675–676.) By a will of 1794 John Pemberton left about three acres of pasture land in Philadelphia for the accommodation of the horses used by Friends attending Yearly Meeting or other meetings of Friends in the city. Of course such a lot would be useless in the automobile age, but the strange fact is that as early as 1840 "not a horse applied." Today the ground-rents arising from the old horse pasture are administered by Friends' Fiduciary Corporation, and are applied to the traveling expenses of Friends who carry on the religious concerns of the Society.

The American Friend

—An article in the issue of 3 mo. 5, 1931 (and continued) is entitled "Quakers in the Industrial Revolution." It tells an interesting story of the great work done by a number of English Friends in the development of modern industry. One authority is quoted as follows: "The more important chapters in the history of the iron industry might be written almost without passing beyond the bounds of the Society of Friends."—In this connection readers will recall Isabel Grubb's recent book, *Quakerism and Industry before 1800* (1930); see also Dr. Norman Penney's valuable series of sketches on "Leading the Way" in *Journal of Friends Historical Society* (London), 19 (1922): 49 ff.

—A valuable article on John Woolman appeared in the issue of 3 mo. 19, 1931.

—The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Friends' Meeting at Newcastle, Indiana, was observed on 3 mo. 29, 1931. An account of the commemorative exercises, illustrated, is in the issue of 4 mo. 23, 1931, pp. 313–314.—This event coming in the same year as the 250th anniversary of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting indicates a real chronological succession in the history of American Quakerism.

—A somewhat startling historical meeting was the one that met recently at Adams, Massachusetts, to dedicate a tablet, in the old Friends' Burial Ground, to the Quakers who fought in the Revolutionary War. *The American Friend* uses a well placed exclamation point after the statement that the meeting was called to order in the old Friends' Meeting House with a bugle call!—7 mo. 2, 1931, p. 502.

—A valuable article by Rufus M. Jones concerning the late Thomas J. Battey (with portrait) appeared in the issue of 8 mo. 13, 1931, p. 618. Thomas J. Battey (1842–1931) was born in Burrillville, Rhode Island. He graduated from Haverford College in the class of 1863. For fifty-nine years he taught

and inspired the pupils at Moses Brown School, Rhode Island.—The same article appeared in *The Friend* (Phila.), 8 mo. 13, 1931, pp. 76–77.

—In the issues of 8 mo. 20, 1931, p. 631, and 9 mo. 24, 1931, p. 721, are interesting data concerning the old Oblong Meeting House in eastern New York, near the Connecticut line. A bronze tablet on a large stone near the house gives the following information:

Oblong Meeting House
erected on south side of the road 1742.
This building erected 1764.
First declaration against slavery in this house 1764.
Used as a hospital in Revolutionary War 1779
Many Revolutionary soldiers buried on south side of road.
Division occurred in 1828.
Meetings ceased in 1885.

—The play by Mary Hoxie Jones, "The King's Missive," given at the annual meeting of Friends' Historical Association, 1930, was printed in full in the issue of 9 mo. 24, 1931, pp. 712–714.

Friends Intelligencer

—At the Swarthmore College commencement of 1931 an outstanding feature was the dedication of the new Clothier Memorial Auditorium. This beautiful building was given to the college by the Clothier family in honor of the late Isaac H. Clothier. Our friend J. Russell Hayes was at his best when he wrote the following lines for the occasion:

"Memorial to a man of simple heart,—
On Swarthmore's quiet hill long shall it stand,
Lit by the stars and dreaming in the sun,
A shining beacon to the far-flung land."

An account of the exercises and a sketch of the Clothier Auditorium are in the *Intelligencer* of 6 mo. 27, 1931, p. 552.

—On a second attempt Paul M. Pearson, Governor of the Virgin Islands, was able recently to visit the relics of early Quakerism in the British island of Tortola. He inspected the ruins of the old Friends' Meeting House and burial ground at Fat Hog Bay, where lie buried those ancient worthies, Thomas Chalkley, John Estaugh, and John Cadwallader. He found, of course, only tumbled heaps of masonry, overgrown with trees, shrubs, and thistles—the same condition found some years ago by Charles F. Jenkins and his party. Governor Pearson's interesting account, with illustrations, is in the *Intelligencer* of 7 mo. 11, 1931, pp. 594–595.

—Two centuries ago (about 1732) Amos Janney and other Friends of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, migrated to that part of Virginia now included in Loudoun County (then Fairfax County). Amos Janney, ancestor of the late Samuel M. Janney, was a man of influence and substance. He built a mill on Catoctin Creek, and the surrounding settlement was first known as Mill-

town. Later it was given its present name of Waterford. The first meeting house, of logs, was built in 1741; next came one of stone, built in 1761 and enlarged in 1775; the present house dates from 1868. An English traveler attended Friends' Meeting at Waterford in 1776 and wrote in his diary: "This is one of the most comfortable places of worship I was ever in. They had two large fires and a Dutch stove. After a long silence and many groans a man got up and gave us a short lecture with great deliberation. Dined at Mr. Joseph Janney's, one of the Friends." Emerson Hough, the novelist, was of Waterford descent. His father once taught in the Friends' school there.—7 mo. 25, 1931, p. 641.

—In an article by Harry Elmore Hurd, the poet Whittier is depicted as one of the "New England Preachers Without Pulpits." The author sets forth the religious and social message of the Quaker poet, with illustrative quotations from his poems.—9 mo. 19, 1931, pp. 796–798.

—An interesting letter of 1717 by Thomas Story was published in the issue of 10 mo. 10, 1931, pp. 858–859. The writer, in Ireland on a religious visit, had been arrested for holding a Friends Meeting, "under ye false pretence yt it was an unlawfull Assembly and Ryott." Thomas Story declared to the Mayor and Justice that "they ought not to exercise their own Passions upon me, but if I had done anything agt any Law I must be subject to Law either actively or Passively; for I was for Passive obedience and non-resistance." There is a ringing sentence near the end of the letter in which the writer says: "The Cause is good and honorable, tis for ye liberty of ye Gospel, The Testimony of Jesus and the Privileges of an English subject."

—In the issue of 10 mo. 3, 1931, appeared an appreciative sketch of the life of Sarah Griscom, with portrait. She was an active and devoted Friend, and served for many years as Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Women Friends (Race Street). She was also Clerk of this Yearly Meeting in 1921 when the first joint sessions of men and women Friends were held. She died at her home in Newtown, Pennsylvania, 8 mo. 26, 1931, aged eighty-two years.

The Friend (London)

—A *Supplement* to *The Friend* (London), 6 mo. 12, 1931, is devoted to the centennial anniversary of The Mount School, York, England. A Centenary History of the school has been published and will be mentioned in a future number of the BULLETIN.

—An illustrated article in *The Friend* (London), 7 mo. 10, 1931, pp. 648–649, takes its readers on a journey to a number of old Quaker homes among the Loweswater Fells. From one of these homes came "the ancestors of half Cumberland Quarterly Meeting." Another one was in 1660 the home of John Burnyeat and in it the owner entertained George Fox.

—An interesting article in *The Friend* (London), 7 mo. 17, 1931, p. 660, is entitled "William Penn and Land Legislation." It refers to Penn's statement concerning land taxation in his *Further Account of Philadelphia*, 1685: "The improvement of the place is best measured by the advance of value upon every man's lot. I will venture to say that the worst lot in the town, without any

improvement upon it, is worth four times more than it was when it was layed out, and the best forty. And though it seems unequal that the absent should be thus benefitted by the improvements of those that are upon the place, especially when they have served no office, run no hazard, nor as yet defrayed any public charge, yet the advantage does certainly redound to them, and whoever they are they are great debtors to the Country." The author further quotes from the minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania to show that for a time an effort was made to put Penn's idea into practice—an idea not far removed from the later theories of Henry George, and the recent proposals of Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

BOOK NOTICES

Books of interest to Friends may usually be purchased at the following places:

Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

Friends' Central Bureau, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia.

Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, N. Y. C.

Friends' Book and Supply House, Richmond, Indiana.

Friends' Book Centre, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W. 1, England.

Allee, Marjorie Hill. *Judith Lankester.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. Pp. 241. $2.00.

Another charming book by our Friend, Marjorie Hill Allee. A story of the Quaker frontier in Indiana, with enough adventure to sustain interest and enough historical color to be informing. A clean Quaker story—a good Christmas book for children—a wholesome change from a too exclusive movie diet.

Bender, Harold S. *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature. A Bibliography of Mennonitica Americana, 1727–1928.* Goshen, Indiana: The Mennonite Historical Society. 1929. Pp. 181. $3.00.

Mentioned here because of the close relations between Mennonites and Friends in recent years.

Brinton, Howard H. *Creative Worship.* London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1931. Pp. 94. $.82 (postpaid).

The Swarthmore Lecture of 1931 was delivered as usual on the evening preceding the opening of London Yearly Meeting. This year it was given by an American Friend, Professor Howard H. Brinton, of Mills College, California.

An interesting historical phase of the lecture is the comparison between "Puritanism and the Concept of Mechanism" and "Quakerism and the Concept of Organism." The author contends that Quakerism "is basically organic both in its theory of worship and its theory of conduct." Yet in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the western world was engaged "in the art of machine making." Hence an organic conception of religion did not win as wide an acceptance as the conception "that the universe was essentially a machine-like structure."

In the remainder of the lecture the author applies the Quaker "organic" concept to the problem of creative worship. At the end he points out, however, the limitations that are set for any lecture on worship: "The mechanical is the describable, but life in its ceaseless aspiration, welling up from the unfathomable deep, eludes all attempts to clamp it into moulds of theory or description."

Coffin, Joseph Herschel. *The Soul Comes Back.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. 207. $2.00.

The author is a Friend and a Professor in Whittier College, California. His book is a study of religious problems in the light of modern science and philosophy. It has won high praise in the review columns of leading periodicals, especially in those of the *Times Literary Supplement*, London, 5 mo. 30, 1929.

Fleming, Horace. *The Lighted Mind. The Challenge of Adult Education to Quakerism.* London: Friends' Book Centre. 1929. Pp. 72. 2s. 6d.

This book tells of the work of English Friends in the movement for Adult Education and points out the opportunity of Friends for an enlarging service of this kind.

Grubb, Edward. *Christianity as Truth.* London: The Swarthmore Press. 1928. Pp. 223. $2.25.

Not Quaker history but based on Quaker conceptions of religion, and with occasional references to Friendly thought and experience. Few authors speak to the needs of modern educated Christians more helpfully than does Edward Grubb.

Harvey, T. Edmund. *The Lost Sacrament.* London: Friends' Book Centre. 1930. Pp. 22.

The substance of an address given at the time of London Yearly Meeting, 1930. The author lays a Friendly emphasis upon the sacrament of service: "Thus for the disciple of Jesus there can be no end to the sacraments, by which, through material forms and acts, the Divine spirit is revealed and imparted to men. Even the smallest thing which is made an instrument of good may be made thus a sacrament." (P. 18.)

Hazard, Caroline (Editor). *Nailer Tom's Diary. Otherwise The Journal of Thomas B. Hazard of Kingstown, Rhode Island, 1778 to 1840.* Boston: The Merrymount Press. 1930. Pp. 808.

Another attractive and valuable book by our friend, Caroline Hazard, formerly President of Wellesley College. Thomas B. Hazard was called "Nailer" because he was skilled in iron work. After laboring in the hay fields by day he "made nails in the night." His diary covers sixty-two years, and a multitude of topics. The doings of the countryside are all set down, household tasks and labor in the fields, births and deaths, marriages and meetings, tea-drinkings and Quarterly Meeting dinners, "the building of mills and the damming of streams." Nailer Tom was no literary artist but his diary became a bank-vault of facts. As the years passed he and his book did an extensive witnessing service for establishing facts in the court-room. A famous lawyer said he would as lief have the devil come to court against him as Nailer Tom with his diary.

For reference purposes one might wish the book were indexed. But the diary itself is such a condensed mass of detailed facts that a complete index would require another stout volume. As it is the book is a mine of information for the historian, and a mine of interest for all who love a story of life.

Johnson, Amandus. *The Instruction for Johan Printz. Governor of New Sweden.* Philadelphia: The Swedish Colonial Society. 1930. Pp. 287.

This is another important contribution by the scholarly historian of the Swedes on the Delaware. Apart from the lengthy Instruction there is a valuable biography of Governor Printz; also important reports and letters. While this is not Quaker history it is the authentic background of the great Quaker province. Dr. Johnson calls the Instruction for Governor Printz, "The First Constitution or Supreme Law of the States of Pennsylvania and Delaware."

Johnson, R. Brimley (Editor). *Elizabeth Fry's Journeys on the Continent. From a Diary Kept by her Niece, Elizabeth Gurney.* London: John Lane the Bodley Head, Limited. 1931. Pp. 208. 12s. 6d.

This is an original account of the journey of Elizabeth Fry in 1840 to Holland, Belgium and Germany, and in 1841 to Holland, Germany and Denmark. In the party on both occasions was Elizabeth Gurney, daughter of Elizabeth Fry's brother, Samuel Gurney. Elizabeth Gurney was the diarist, whose charming story is now brought to our fireside chairs.

Both tours were triumphal processions for Elizabeth Fry, as she was shown great honor everywhere by kings, princes and courtiers. Yet her great concern was for her message and her service. Prison reform, religious toleration, the abolition of slavery, and pure, spiritual religion—these were the warp and woof of her messages. And her meetings usually ended with bible-reading, prayer, and the distribution of books and tracts. Even when the

language difficulty made conversation impossible, she was "under the burden," for the diarist tells us that "she stands by looking sermons."

The story of these two journeys is not new. It has been told before by older and more serious members of the party. Here it is told by a keen, youthful, zestful and charming niece of the great reformer. We see Elizabeth Fry moving naturally among her relatives and friends. We hear of the every-day incidents, vicissitudes and humors of the journey. Lucy Bradshaw and Elizabeth Fry "bear heroically" the kisses of the German women—usually two on each cheek. The young diarist generally avoids the ceremony by shaking hands across a table—"and we part as good friends as if we had kissed for an hour." Quite the most whimsical entry of the diarist is about the loss of Elizabeth Fry's lovely bonnet just at the start of the second journey. Finally it was discovered that Joseph John Gurney was sitting on it, quietly studying German. It was "squashed as flat as a pancake," but the owner took the incident very quietly, remarking: "This is what I call a commencement." (P. 109.)

There are many kind words for Joseph John Gurney: "He is *extremely* liked and admired. He is well worthy of the latter for he does look most lovely in his black silk velvet cap, rather a la militaire. We are most merry and easy together and full of love for one another." (P. 141.)

Of course in the end the reader is almost as interested in the Niece as in her famous Aunt. One wants next a book called *Impressions and Memories* (see p. xix) about the former, who in later years, as Madame de Bunsen, "became the animated and magnetic centre of so wide a circle of diplomats, literary men, and the leading intellects of her generation."

Morgan, Mme. R. C. *Justine Dalencourt.* Paris: Fischbacher. 1929. Pp. 358.

This is a biography in French of a French woman well known to English Friends and to some Americans who know the little group of Friends in Paris. In her lifetime (1838–1928) she made the transition from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism and to Quakerism. She established several social-religious centers in France for helping Christian people, especially women of the working class. For further facts about her outstanding Christian character and her great work see *The Friend* (London), 68 (1928): 245, 306, 357. A review, reprinted from *The Friend* (London) appeared in *The Friend* (Phila.), 103 (1930): 386–387.

Osborn, Henry Fairfield. *Cope: Master Naturalist. The Life and Letters of Edward Drinker Cope with a Bibliography of His Writings Classified by Subject.* Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1931. Pp. 740. $5.00.

This long awaited biography will be welcomed by the many friends of Edward Drinker Cope. It is dedicated "to Alfred Cope, who gave so much thought to his son Edward's education, and to Julia Cope Collins, whose appreciation of her father's genius gave impetus to this volume." The author,

as many readers will recall, was a fellow palaeontologist and close friend of the "Master Naturalist."

The work is done in detail and is generously illustrated. Unfortunately for its reference value it is not indexed, although this lack is partially made good by an adequate Table of Contents. Although the major part of the space is devoted to Professor Cope's scientific pursuits, there is record also of his ancestry, boyhood, and Quaker connections. The last paragraph of the story is as follows: "Thus ended the life of 'Cope: Master Naturalist,' consistent both with his early religious training as a Quaker and with his final supreme devotion to science. Few lives have been so influential in molding the thought of the world in palaeontology and geology. Few lives have been so full of the dramatic union of energy, of the combativeness of the militant scientist with the love and tenderness of family life.

Parry, Edwin S. *Betsy Ross. Quaker Rebel.* Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company. 1930. Pp. 252. $2.00.

This is the story of the life of Betsy Ross by her great-great-grandson. It recounts the violent death of her first husband, the death in a British prison of her second, and her final marriage to a young patriot of the Revolution. Her disownment by Friends for "marrying out" is emphasized. The flag story is told again with fidelity to the facts, as the reviewer is assured by Lloyd Balderston, Ph.D., who is an acknowledged authority on the subject. The author of the book supplies conversation and various other details from his imagination but the story as told apparently gives a faithful picture in its larger lines.

Penney, Norman (Editor). *Pen Pictures of London Yearly Meeting, 1809–1833.* Part II. London: Friends Historical Society. 1930. Pp. 227. $2.00. (Parts I and II, $3.25.)

This is Part II of the interesting and valuable publication of which Part I was reviewed in the BULLETIN, 19 (1930): 55–56. Part I covered the period from 1789 to 1808. Part II carries on to 1833. As the work is now concluded the editor adds a valuable index that will make for ready reference.

One interesting story in the accounts is of the beginning in London Yearly Meeting of an interest in foreign missions. From timid beginnings in 1822 there is shown a steady growth until in 1831 Richard Cockin could write "that the subject had gained much interested weight on many Friends' minds since last year." (P. 199.)

There is much of special interest to American Friends. One item is a suggestion in 1821 by Nathan Hunt that would seem to anticipate some such body among Friends of America as the later Five Years Meeting. (P. 164.) In 1828 and following years are the reverberations of the unhappy separation in America. In 1832 (pp. 203–204) John Wilbur is at London Yearly Meeting, so disturbed over the lack of real spiritual life (as he conceived) that he wrote: "My mental grief was such that I could not refrain from excessive weeping after the conclusion of the meetings for discipline." (P. 204.)

Again we are led to wish that we had the personal accounts of a Richard Cockin and of others to tell us the story of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting through a long period of years, and a Norman Penney to gather up such accounts and edit them in his own thorough-going fashion.

Stoudt, John Baer. *The Liberty Bells of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia: William J. Campbell. 1930. Pp. 204. $5.00.

Although not primarily Quaker history this book contains a great deal of Pennsylvania history that is of interest to Friends.

The author presents an interesting thesis concerning the inscription on the great Liberty Bell of Philadelphia: "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."—Lev. xxv: 10. His conclusion is that, since this bell was ordered in 1751 by the Pennsylvania Assembly (through Isaac Norris and others), it was meant to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the grant by William Penn in 1701 of the Charter of Liberties to Pennsylvania. Thus the text of Scripture was selected with reference to the ancient Hebrew Year of Jubilee (every fiftieth year), when captives were set free and a blast on the ram's horn proclaimed liberty "throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." The author's surmise is certainly interesting and plausible.

The list of members of the Pennsylvania Assembly that voted to purchase the bell is made up largely of good Quaker names.

Another interesting chapter tells of references to and pictures of the bell as a symbol of liberty in the fight against slavery.

Several chapters are devoted to local liberty bells in various cities of Pennsylvania.

The book brings together much interesting information that was formerly scattered and inaccessible. It is beautifully printed and illustrated.

Thomas, Anna LL.B., and Emmott, Elizabeth B. *William Charles Braithwaite. Memoir and Papers.* New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1931. Pp. 178. $2.00.

Some American Friends knew William Charles Braithwaite in England. Others met him when he and his wife attended the Five Years Meeting in 1912 at Indianapolis, and travelled within the limits of several eastern yearly meetings. Many others—all those who read Quaker history—know him by his *Beginnings of Quakerism* and the *Second Period.* Of these two books a competent critic wrote: "They are not only written in the scientific spirit and with judicial impartiality, but their pages are alive with the breath of life. Behind their simple and elegant English lay immense stores of learning and beneath their argument a vitalizing evangel."

Two of W. C. Braithwaite's sisters have prepared the present book. About half of it is a Memoir of his life. The other half contains selections from his writings. There are several portraits of him scattered through the pages,

including a beautiful one (p. 90) taken late in his life. The breadth and depth of his spirit are well expressed in the words of William Penn, which he quotes in his *Second Period of Quakerism:* "The humble, meek, merciful, just, pious and devout souls everywhere are of one religion; and when death has taken off the mask they will know one another, though the divers liveries they wear make them strangers."

Whiting, Charles Edwin. *Studies in English Puritanism from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660–1688.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. 584. $7.50.

For serious students of Quaker history, this book deserves more than brief mention. Coming from the University of Durham and equipped with a knowledge of the literature impressively listed in the Bibliography, the author has given a detailed treatment of the subjects included. The book has the advantage of being quite limited in scope. Every chapter in it has to do with the problems of Protestant Dissenters. It covers only three decades of history, but they are three of great importance for Quakerism, since its beginning is to be dated only one decade earlier. Each of the non-conformist groups—including even the minor ones, is described for this period, as well as their relations to each other and to the established church. A special feature of the book is the attention paid to the controversial literature of the period. Interesting sections deal with the experiences of dissenters in the incorporated towns, with their educational efforts, with their poetry, etc. In all the book the Quakers play a large part. The author treats their failings sympathetically and recognizes their courage in persecution and their influence. A full hundred pages are devoted specifically to their history, life, and organization. He traces the vicissitudes of persecution through which the period took them, illustrating the theme from definite experiences of their members. He deals with their controversies—both among themselves and with others. In a book of such detail, many pages are necessarily dull reading, inaccuracies are inevitable and are indeed not lacking, and a complete index though useful would have been a prodigious labor. But on the whole the reader gets a picture both of Quakerism and of its religious setting in a way not usually provided.

HENRY J. CADBURY

Wright, Edward N. *Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1931. Pp. 274. $3.00.

The aim of this book is well expressed in the words that the author quotes from Seneca, "neither to mock, nor to bewail, nor to denounce men's actions, but to understand them." The substance of what he has to tell could have been guessed fairly accurately and summarized very briefly but he has preferred to make a careful study of both primary and secondary records and to present, often with illustrative quotation, the actual facts. His arrangement involves treating separately the North and the South and also separating the

behavior towards the problem of the civil and of the military authorities. His findings show that the difficulties of the objector were greater in the Confederate States than in the Union, though the number of these who were brutally treated was relatively small. The brutality usually was due to the lower military officers; their superiors were more tolerant and the civil authorities, especially in the North, were at least intelligently sympathetic with the problem.

There are practically no evidences of objectors who were not objectors on religious grounds and associated with a non-combatant sect. The Friends were probably the most numerous, certainly the most conspicuous at the time, the most ably defended, and the group of whom most is known. They also took often the extreme position of refusing to pay commutation money, while the Mennonites and others accepted this form of exemption. Yet the Friends by no means were clear of young members who accepted military service and after the war they freely received acknowledgment from such and exercised no severe discipline against them.

From the standpoint of government the problem of the conscientious objector was a minor one. The subject is therefore one important in principle rather than in size. The problem was raised in almost the same form in the World War. This more recent experience no doubt instigated the investigation. The book concludes with a comparison between the data of the two periods. For the Society of Friends which figures conspicuously in the book the problem is of importance. It is also fraught with grave difficulties—both practical and theoretical. This volume not only collects the facts about the Quaker experiences in the Civil War in an objective way, but by doing so presents to view in a vivid way the problems of principle which the effort after consistent Quaker conscience raises.

HENRY J. CADBURY